1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

to this, and partly so as to provide companionship for the boars, certain male pigs are gelded. Gelded pigs also have their upper canines extracted, and so develop elongated tusks, but are never, so far as I know, kept alive beyond the stage at which the tusks approach the jaw but have not yet entered it. They are reared for two purposes, firstly as companions to the tusked boars, and partly so as to provide the fleshy part of sacrifice. Thus pigs are often sacrificed in pairs, one tusked boar and one gelded tusker. The boar only is the official victim; the gelded tusker is sacrificed at the same time in order to provide the meat.

Sows not sacrificed or eaten.

Though women sometimes own pigs, sows are never sacrificed and therefore do not have their tusks artificially elongated; nor may they be eaten.[1] Men cannot eat sows because they are female, and women may not eat pig-flesh at all. For pig-flesh is only eaten as a result of sacrifice.

TERMINOLOGY; PIG GRADES; STAGES OF GROWTH

General Terms

The general word for "pig" is *bò*, or, when preceded by the indefinite article, *na-mbò*. The same word is used more specifically for "boar" as opposed to gelded pig or sow.

Gelded pigs are called *tamav*.

Sows are called *bò-rav*.

Pigs reared from a sow belonging to the owner and not acquired by trade are called *netin na-mborav*, and are particularly prized for sacrifice. Such pigs when grown to sacrificial size I will call "home-bred tuskers."

Intersex pigs, described in Vao as having vagina and testicles but no penis, are called *na-rav*. These are not intentionally reared on Vao, but sometimes occur in the course of ordinary breeding.

Four Main Grades depending on Curvature of Tusks

Tusked boars are, for ritual purposes, graded into four main categories, according to the length and curvature of their tusks. As these categories are the same, with dialectical variations, all over the Small Islands, and as it is necessary to be able to refer to them in English in such a manner as not to burden the reader with too many native terms, I propose here

[1] Compare Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 48: "The sow is despised to such an extent that it may not even be eaten; if it is necessary, for some reason or other, to get rid of a sow, it is thrown into the sea, unless the young men take it for bait to attract sharks, which they then kill."

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

to give the Vao terms, together with the English equivalents which I first published in 1928,[1] and which I shall continue to use in this and subsequent volumes. To illustrate the importance of these four grades, I will give also the Atchin terms for the same grades, which are almost the same as those used in Vao, although the terms used for the less important intermediate grades differ considerably. The four grades are:

231
192

(1) CRESCENT-TUSKER. Vao *pakeah*, Atchin *pekes*. The tusks are plainly visible outside the animal's lips. The word "crescent" is chosen owing to its technical connotation of "growing."

(2) CURVED-TUSKER. Vao *na-rugh*, Atchin *na-ru*. The portion of the tusk visible outside the animal's lip is now distinctly curved, the tip being directed backwards, but not yet having penetrated the cheek.

(3) RE-ENTRANT-TUSKER. Vao *bò-ware*,[2] Atchin *ni-wara*. The tusk has now pierced the cheek and re-entered the jaw.

(4) CIRCLE-TUSKER. Vao *merer-pakeah*, Atchin *merer-pekes*. The tusk has now passed through the jaw, curved up forwards inside the spot where it first appeared, and the tip is again visible outside the animal's lip. The word *merer* means "twice" or "double," and indicates that the tip of the tusk now occupies for a second time the position of crescent-tusker (*pakeah*, *pekes*).

NOTE ON THE TERMS USED FOR THE PIG IN GENERAL, AND FOR THE FOUR MAIN GRADES OF TUSKER

Bè (Atchin *buha*). This word, used for the pig in general, is allied to the Indonesian forms *babui*, *bawi* and *babi*,[3] variants of which are common throughout Melanesia.

Pakeah (Atchin *pekes*), here used for crescent-tusker, is an uncommon word, and appears in Melanesia, so far as is known, only in the New Hebrides, where it appears as a generic term for pig under the forms *bukahi* (in the Bieri district of South Epi), *pekasi* (in Erromanga), *pokasi* (in Tanna) and *pigadh* (in Aneityum).[3]

Na-rugh (Atchin *na-ru*), here used for curved-tusker, is by far the most

[1] Layard, 2, p. 190. It is to be hoped that other writers will adopt these terms, as the grades are important not only in present-day practice, but also in tracing the development of the cult of artificial tusks in this and neighbouring areas, and without agreed technical terms in English comparison would be difficult.

[2] The only pig name mentioned by Godefroy is *bouar*, which is evidently the same word, but which he on several occasions describes as indicating this stage of growth the second time round, i.e. after having already completed one circle.

[3] For information regarding these terms I am indebted to the Rev. A. Capell. Codrington, 1, gives a list of 40 languages in which forms of the Indonesian word for pig are used. Dr. Capell has a list of over 100.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

231
192

common term used in the Northern New Hebrides for various grades of tusker, though the grades which it is used to indicate vary greatly. The word is clearly allied to the Mota words *ruga*, "to bend at an angle without breaking," and *luk*, "to bend at an angle," together with *luga*, "to fold or bend," [1] though none of these terms are here used to specify any grade of pig. In Malo, however, the word is found in the form of *undruk*, described as a boar with "a curved tusk so large that it has grown right round to reach the jaw," [2] that is to say, that it is there used for what, in my terminology, is a re-entrant-tusker. In Lambumbu it appears in the form of *naarugh*, meaning "a pig whose tusk has passed through the jaw-bone and entered the mouth," [3] i.e. a stage longer than in Malo. In South-East Oba (Lologaro) the term is not used alone, but reappears under the form *ruk-waru*, applied to boars of which the tusks have re-entered the jaw the second time round.[4] The word *waru* means "twice," and the complete term thus means "twice curved." This is the longest curvature of tusk I know of to receive a grade name which is not simply a repetition of the term used for the tusk on its first way round. The importance of this term is emphasised by its use as a title in the graded society under the form of *ruk-waru* in the Maki of Atchin and Wala, of *ruh-varu* in Unua,[5] *lok-paro* in Port Sandwich and *luk-paro* or *lugubaru* in the Mangge of Sulol and Lonwolwol on Ambrim.[6]

Bò-ware (Atchin *ni-wara*). This term, here used for re-entrant-tusker, is less widespread, and I do not know of its use as a grade term outside the Small Islands. It is allied to the Mota *war*, meaning "to twist, screw, curl over," and also "to have curled tusks," illustrated by the phrase *o goe we war*.[7]

Merer-pakeah (Atchin *merer-pekes*), here used for circle-tusker, is a composite term, meaning "*pakeah* again," signifying the return of the tusk, on its second round, to the position of *pakeah*, or crescent-tusker. This is, so far as has been recorded, a universal way of describing circle-tuskers, namely, by the device of using the name of a previous grade with the addition of some word signifying "again." We have already seen this in the term *ruk-waru*, meaning "*ruk* twice," together with its South-East Malekulan and Ambrim equivalents *luk-paro*, etc. The same means is employed in Lambumbu, where the phrase *ni-mbuah rendam vaaru* is used for "a pig in which the tusk is beginning to project for the second time," and *lip mavüs vaaru*, "a pig in which the tusk is clearly seen projecting for the second time." [8] In Seniang the same device is employed

[1] Codrington, 2. The Indonesian root for this word is *dekung* (Capell).
[2] Rivers, 3. [3] Deacon, 4, p. 196. [4] Layard, 9.
[5] One of the four "Fires" into which the *ni-mangki* grades of Lambumbu were divided was also called by this name (Deacon, 4, p. 346).
[6] For references see table of graded society ranks, Table XI. The use of this term as a title presumably implies that the sacrificer must sacrifice a boar of this grade.
[7] Codrington, 2. [8] Deacon, 4, p. 196.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

by means of the word *ndal*, meaning "again"; thus, *mbong mevils* is roughly equivalent to crescent-tusker, and *mbong mevils ndal* means "a pig whose tusk has attained to the *mbong mevils* stage for the second time," that is to say, has become a circle-tusker, and for any stage above this the qualifying adverb *ndal* is added to the name for the corresponding stage the first time round.[1]

Philological evidence points to comparatively recent development of the art of rearing circle-tuskers.

The above brief philological survey is not without importance, since it shows that, of all the terms used to describe pigs, two only are widespread, namely *bò*, the generic word for pig all over Melanesia, with its close parallels in Indonesia, and the term *rugh*, together with its various equivalents, of which the root meaning is "curved." In connexion with this term *rugh* and its equivalents, the interesting fact further emerges that they are used in various districts for almost any grade of curved-tusker, from crescent-tusker to a stage almost equivalent to circle-tusker. There is, further, the noteworthy fact that there is nowhere an individual term for circle-tusker, this grade being everywhere expressed by repeating the term used for the first visible stage of the tusk on its first round, together with some word signifying "twice" or "again."

These facts appear to indicate: (*a*) that in the development of the New Hebridean practice of rearing pigs with artificially deformed tusks the important thing at first was the production of a curved tusk of any size, called by some form of the word *rugh*, and that this term became applied at one time in various districts to the greatest length of tusk then known; and (*b*) that the stage of circle-tusker, for which no individual term exists, is a comparatively late development due to improved technique. This supposition is borne out in the accounts given by the natives themselves of the grades of tusker sacrificed both formerly and now. In the history of the Maki on Atchin (to be published in a future volume) it will be shown that it is only in recent generations that circle-tuskers have been reared in sufficient numbers to become the prescribed form of sacrifice at certain rites, and that formerly, even on the most important occasions, the highest-grade sacrificial animals were re-entrant-tuskers.

Each of the four main grades has its own conch-shell trumpet signal.

However late the development of the art of producing circle-tuskers may be, the four main grades of tusker mentioned above are now firmly established in the Small Islands, and each has its own particular ritual significance. The great importance of this method of classification in the native mind is shown by the fact that each of the four main grades has its own special signal, blown for it on a conch-shell trumpet. These

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 195.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

231 202 signals are blown whenever a tusked boar changes hands, approaches the island in a canoe or is sacrificed, and it is in connexion with tusked boars that these trumpets are chiefly used.[1]

Intermediate Stages of Growth

231 192 In addition to the four main grades cited above there are a number of intermediate grades the terms for which have no special ritual significance, but simply describe the stages of growth. Though I am unable in all cases to give literal translations as fully as I shall be able to do in a future volume with respect to those in use on Atchin, it will be seen that they are chiefly of a purely descriptive nature. They are:

Bò rombo. Sucking pig.

Na-mbò. Pig that has been weaned. (This is the general word for pig.)

Ghamb-ghamb-lehi. The lower canine (i.e. the tusk) is about to appear (through the gum). *Lehi* means "to see."

Bò-rühülē. The tusk has erupted.

Bò mpal-pal-re. The tusk meets the upper canine. The word *pal* means "to strike," also "to sacrifice." It is at this point that the upper canine is knocked out. I do not know whether the name refers to the striking of the tusk against the upper canine, or to the fact that, once the latter is extracted, the animal is destined for sacrifice.

Bò hölöt. The upper canine (*patin(e)*) has been extracted.

Bò her-hari. Young tusker with tusks occasionally visible outside the lips. *Har* means "to shine," and refers presumably to the gleam of the tusk's tip when it first appears.[2]

Pakeah. Crescent-Tusker. The tusks are now plainly visible at all times outside the animal's lips.

Na-rugh. Curved-Tusker. The tusk curves backwards outside the cheek.

Tev-tev. The tip of the tusk, curving backwards and downwards, grazes the skin of the cheek, so that it bleeds. *Tev* is a widespread word meaning "to cut."

Tuh-nò-tev-siri. The tusk has pierced the cheek, but has not yet entered the jaw. It is still possible to put one's finger between the jaw and the tip of the tusk. *Tev* again means "to cut"; *siri* possibly means "entirely," indicating that the cheek is completely pierced.

Bò-ware. Re-Entrant-Tusker. The tip of the tusk, moving downwards and now forwards again, has now re-entered the jaw.

Bò e ves-vas. The tip of the tusk is now well inside the jaw.

[1] Compare also the term *ni-tavu* (=conch-shell trumpet) used for the first grade of tusker after removal of the upper canines in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 194). Trumpets are blown during the operation.

[2] Compare the corresponding grade in Seniang, called *mbong mevüs*, meaning "mouth white" (Deacon, 4, p. 194).

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Na-timb. The tip of the tusk is about to erupt from the jaw for the second time.

Bò-rûhûlē. The tusk has erupted for the second time. This term duplicates that used for the first eruption. Its sense would always be apparent from the context in which it is used.

Bò mpal-pal-re. The tip of tusk is now well out of the jaw, but is not yet visible outside the lip. This term duplicates that used for a similar position the first time round.

Merer-hôlôt. The tip of the tusk is yet further out, but not yet fully visible. This term duplicates *bò hôlôt*, with the addition of *merer*, "double."

Merer-pakeah. CIRCLE-TUSKER. The tip of the tusk is now visible at all times outside the lip immediately behind the spot where it originally erupted, having described a complete circle.

Tal va gha rugh. This is a yet higher grade, an exact description of which I did not record. *Tal* is the word used for the rope by which pigs are tethered; *rugh* may duplicate *na-rugh*, in which case the term would appear to refer to a stage in which that of curved-tusker has been reached the second time round.

Yet further stages of growth are called by names which in the same way repeat those used for the tusk while describing its first circle. Super-high-grade boars of this kind will be referred to in the following pages as:

(*a*) CIRCLE-PLUS-CRESCENT-TUSKER.
(*b*) CIRCLE-PLUS-CURVED-TUSKER.
(*c*) CIRCLE-PLUS-RE-ENTRANT-TUSKER.
(*d*) DOUBLE-CIRCLE-TUSKER.
(*e*) DOUBLE-CIRCLE-PLUS-CRESCENT-TUSKER.
(*f*) TRIPLE-CIRCLE-TUSKER,[1]
and so on.

Freaks are sometimes accidentally produced, having four tusks, or three, two on one side and one on the other. The former are called *līv-vât-vât* (*līv* meaning "tusk" and *vât* "four") and the latter *līv-tīl-tīl* (*tīl* meaning "three").

Life-span of tusked boars.

I know of no exact data bearing on the life-span of tusked boars, and existing records are remarkably diverse. Thus Harrisson, referring presumably to Matanavat, says that in the growth of the tusks "each circuit takes about seven years," [2] while Mr. Bowie is quoted by Speiser as having found the time taken in Ambrim for the tusk to re-enter the jaw (i.e. in my terminology, to attain the grade of re-entrant-tusker) to be sixteen years.[3]

[1] One such three-circle-tusker existed on Atchin at the time of my visit, in the village of Emil Lep. Another is mentioned in an account of human sacrifice at Matanavat (see p. 621, note).

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 25.

[3] Speiser, 3, p. 160.